

issue is approached from a political perspective, and the political parties have extraordinary sway over the Commission's actions.

Senator MCCAIN and I viewed the BCRA rulemaking process as a test, if you will, a final chance for the FEC to change its approach and to finally begin to faithfully enforce the law in a nonpartisan fashion. We were very disappointed in the result. We have, therefore, concluded that the FEC, as currently constituted, cannot provide the strong and consistent enforcement of the Federal election laws that this country needs. So together we have proposed to replace the agency with a new body, the Federal Election Administration.

We need to have an agency led by people who are respected by both sides of the aisle and will carry out their responsibilities in a nonpartisan manner rather than simply having representatives from each of the parties canceling each other out with a partisan approach to their jobs. Our bill makes individuals who have worked for or served as counsel to parties or candidates ineligible to serve as administrators.

We have no illusions that this reform will be easy to pass. Those who opposed our bill will undoubtedly oppose replacing the agency that is responsible for the rulings that made our bill necessary and that continue to undermine the new law. But reform of the FEC is essential if the will of Congress and BCRA is to be carried out.

I am also pleased to join Senator MCCAIN in introducing a bill to reform the Presidential public funding system. That system did actually work well for seven consecutive Presidential elections from 1976 to 2000. In those elections, Republicans were elected four times and Democrats three times and challengers actually defeated incumbents in three out of the five races where an incumbent was a candidate.

This year, unfortunately, candidates from both parties have opted out of the public funding system for the primaries. Everyone knows the system needs to be updated to keep it functioning in future elections.

I happen to come from a State that had a very good public funding system for State elections for many years. In fact, I won my first race for the Wisconsin Senate, frankly, only because of that system. But the legislature in my State failed to update and revise that system to keep pace with the changing realities and costs of political campaigns, and now hardly anyone uses it. We can't let that happen to the Presidential public funding system.

Again, when I look at the Presiding Officer, I know these kinds of systems can work because they have made them work in her State of Maine. The bill we have introduced is a starting point only, much like the first McCain-Feingold bill in 1995. We want to work with our colleagues on both sides of the aisle to come up with a bill that this

Senate can support to preserve the public funding system that has served the country so well since the excesses of the Watergate era demonstrated that private financing of Presidential elections is really not a very good thing for our democracy.

I hope our colleagues will work with us over this year to perfect a bill that can be quickly passed in the next Congress after this Presidential election has been held.

Senator MCCAIN and I have also introduced a bill to provide free air time to congressional candidates. The cost of television advertising has skyrocketed, and we believe the Nation's broadcasters, who make great profits from a public resource—the airwaves—should contribute to improving the democratic process. I look forward to continuing to discuss this bill with our colleagues as well.

We do not expect any one of these three major reform bills will be considered on the Senate floor this year. But there is one bill that can and should be enacted very quickly. That is a bill we have introduced to require electronic filing of Senate campaign finance reports. Right now, the Senate lags way behind the House in providing current and complete disclosure of contributions to and expenditures on our campaigns. This is really an embarrassment. It is possible the Rules Committee can quickly correct this problem, but if not, Senator MCCAIN and I have introduced a bill to bring the Senate into the 21st century, and we should enact it promptly.

Again, I thank all my colleagues who supported the McCain-Feingold bill. I hope they are as proud of their accomplishment as I am of them. I am convinced we have begun to change this system for the better. Senator MCCAIN discussed there is already evidence of that. I think as the 2004 campaign heats up, we will see plenty more examples of how the system has improved, but we cannot rest on our laurels. We saw what happened when Congress essentially left the field for 20 years after passing the post-Watergate reforms. We must be vigilant to protect what we did in BCRA, and we must look ahead and continue to fight for a campaign finance system that enhances, rather than suffocates, the power of individual citizens and voters in our democracy.

Finally, I again express my admiration and appreciation for all Senator MCCAIN has done on this issue. For one final time I thank him for calling me in late 1994 and saying he wanted to work with me on this project. Next time tell me it is going to take 8 years. I am more than grateful for this terrific opportunity to not only work with a great American hero, but to have my name associated with him to the point where Senator MCCAIN has said that some people think my first name is MCCAIN.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

## CHURCHILL AND THE GREAT REPUBLIC EXHIBIT

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I was privileged today to go to the Library of Congress where, under the auspices of Mr. Billington, the Librarian of Congress, a very wonderful exhibit is opening entitled—and I hold up the volume: "Churchill and the Great Republic." The exhibit formally opens tonight.

In attendance today were one of Churchill's daughters, his grandson, and other members of the Churchill family. It was a very moving experience. I encourage my colleagues to find time in the next week or 10 days to avail themselves of this very historical exhibit put together by Dr. Billington.

The ceremony today, marking the opening, was attended by the President of the United States, and I, together with my good friend Senator LUGAR, Senator BOB BENNETT, and a number of Members of the House of Representatives, were privileged to be in attendance.

I ask unanimous consent that following my remarks, the full text of the President's speech at this auspicious occasion be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I think we are at a remarkable crossroads of history. In terms of the survival of republics, this is about the great republic, about freedom, and about all of those things we hold very dear.

I do not intend to make a political speech, but I say without reservation I think President Bush has given remarkable leadership, certainly in the aftermath of 9/11, an unprecedented attack on our sovereignty, the people of the United States of America, parallel in many respects to Pearl Harbor but indeed more awesome than Pearl Harbor in some respects. We are fortunate to have at the helm in the United States a strong President, a man of courage and of wisdom. I try in my modest way to support his leadership and that of those he has selected as his principal team.

I found this speech very remarkable today, and I would like to read just a paragraph:

When World War II ended, Winston Churchill immediately understood that the victory was incomplete. Half of Europe was occupied by an aggressive empire. And one of Churchill's own finest hours came after the war ended in a speech he delivered in Fulton, Missouri. Churchill warned of the new danger facing free peoples. In stark but measured tones, he spoke of the need for free nations to unite against the communist expansion. Marshal Stalin denounced the speech as a "call to war." A prominent American journalist called the speech an "almost catastrophic blunder." In fact, Churchill had set a simple truth before the world: that tyranny would not be ignored or appeased without great risk. And he boldly asserted that freedom—freedom was the right of men and women on both sides of the Iron Curtain.